Social welfare of Burmese refugees and human security

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Abstract

This paper investigates the social welfare and social security situation of Burmese refugees living in temporary shelters along the Thai-Myanmar border. The study applies the human security framework and right to education framework to analyze findings from both documentary and field research in order to examine the accessibility and availability of existing welfare services, as well as to identify the potential implications and the sustainability of access to local Thai education, health, and judicial services of these refugees in the future. Overall, the paper argues that under the human security framework finding sustainable solutions to the current protracted situation may need to go beyond the host country's traditional responsibility, and responsibility for the sustainable social welfare and protection of displaced persons should be equally shared among international agencies, the host country, and civil society.

Introduction

Although Thailand is not a party to the 1951 Refugee Convention or the 1967 Protocol, the Royal Thai Government (RTG) has hosted refugees from neighboring countries since 1965. In the case of Burmese refugees, these people found shelter in Thailand since 1984 when fighting broke out between the Karen National Union and

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Myanmar’s armed forces causing approximately 6,000 Karen refugees to flee into Thailand. As the fighting went on, people continued to flee into Thailand, especially after the split within the Karen National Union (KNU) in 1995. Up to now, according to the 2011 records of the Thailand Burma Border Consortium (TBBC), nearly 150,000 refugee people are living in temporary shelters in Thailand and are very much dependent upon external assistance for social welfare services (food/shelter, education and healthcare), and justice administration services.

Since Thailand has not ratified the Refuge Convention, the government has officially named all camps as “temporary shelters” and the refugees themselves are termed as “displaced person fleeing from fighting,” instead of using the words “refugee camp” and “refugee,” even if the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) recognizes them all as full refugees. These people are given assistance and basic services by the Ministry of Interior (MOI) and international non-governmental organizations (NGOs) on the basis of emergency humanitarian principles. As a result, this paper will use the word “displaced persons” for “refugee people” in order to follow the RTG terminology. Since these displaced persons have not received refugee status, they are subjected to the Thai Immigration Act of BE 2522 (1979), which stipulates that those who leave their camp may be arrested and charged with illegal entry.3

The paper first examines the background and characteristics of Burmese displaced persons within the context of international relations between Thailand and Myanmar. Using the human security framework, it secondly examines the availability of existing welfare services (food security, education, and health security) as well as personal security through existing legal protection provided by RTG and international organizations under the internal structure of the camp system. Based on field information and data collection using data triangulation methods, the study thirdly explores potential integration of such access with local Thai education, health, and justice services and identifies possible social tension and conflict between displaced persons and local communities in relation to access to such services. Finally, the paper analyzes the human security of Burmese displaced persons within the existing situation and offers a proposal for a long-term sustainable solution to the protracted Burmese refugee situation in Thailand.
Overall, the study argues that the current situation is no longer a humanitarian emergency. Given that this is the case, the human security of displaced persons will be under serious threat due to the lack of a sustainable solution both in the medium and long term for solving the problems of displaced persons. The paper suggests that the current model of humanitarian assistance needs to gradually move towards that of development. The paper also argues that it is necessary to ensure that displaced persons have a meaningful voice and participate in any future policy or programmatic adjustments which move toward a development model.

**Displaced people along the Thai-Myanmar border: Background characteristics**

Although the RTG refuses to recognize the presence of any “refugees,” Thailand facilitates and assists with temporary shelters on the basis of humanitarian principles and with regard for the principle of non-refoulement, namely that displaced persons will not be forced to involuntarily move back to their country or be put in danger.4

The demography of displaced people in shelters tends to fluctuate depending upon the intensity of fighting inside Myanmar between the ethnic minorities and the State Peace and Development Council. While “veterans” sometimes leave for resettlement, new arrivals add to the numbers. In July 2012, the Thailand-Burma Border Consortium (TBBC) had a caseload of 143,119 persons. These numbers included both registered and unregistered displaced people under the UNHCR/MOI.5 There are presently nine temporary shelters located in four provinces of Thailand: Ban Mai Nai Soi, Ban Mae Surin, and Mae La Oon in Mae Hong Son province; Mae La, Umpiem Mai, and Nu Po in Tak province; Don Yang in Kanchanaburi province; and Tham Hin in Ratchaburi province. Out of these nine camps, Ban Mai Nai Soi and Ban Mae Surin are for Karenni refugees, while the rest are for Karens. There is also one Shan refugee camp in Wieng Heng district of Chiang Mai, but this camp is not recognized by the UNHCR or the Thai authorities (see figures and map below).

In terms of official management, the RTG is in charge of the administration of these temporary shelters through the work of the Ministry of Interior (MOI). At the same time, displaced persons
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2. Rations are provided only to those personally attending distributions. The feeding figure is the actual number of beneficiaries recorded as having collected food rations this month.
select a Temporary Shelter Committee from amongst themselves for a tenure period of two years in order to represent the camp residents, and this committee works under the supervision of the MOI. The Temporary Shelter Committee focuses on several issues in relation to the livelihoods of displaced persons living in the camp, including welfare services such as food allocation and distribution, primary and secondary education, personal and communal health, and traditional community judicial services. The Temporary Shelter Committees report to the Karen Refugee Committee and to the Karenni Refugee Committee as the national body for the Karen camps and Karenni camps respectively. Inside the camps, the Temporary Shelter Committees have the responsibility for the overall administration of the shelters and for communications with the Thai authorities, donors, and NGOs. The RTG’s policy on displaced persons is implemented through the Ministry of Interior at the provincial and district levels: a district officer with responsibility for protection (*palat pongkan*) is appointed by the provincial governor to act as the camp commander of each temporary shelter. Daily life in the shelters is managed through cooperation between the provincial and district authorities under the MOI and the Temporary Shelter Committees, as well as with the displaced persons themselves. Other agencies, such as the MOI volunteers and the Border Patrol Police, are also engaged in policy implementation as well as in the provision of security and surveillance of the displaced persons, while night-time safety and curfews are managed by displaced person staff in collaboration with the Territorial Defense Volunteer Corps (“Or Sors”) provide security under the jurisdiction of the Camp Commander.
Existing welfare services and their availability

The following sections examine the current situation of social welfare and social security in the Temporary Shelters. Key indicators under the human security framework will be used to analyze information on food security and access to health while the rights-based approached on education will be used to look at education inside the camp. On the issue of justice services, personal security indicators and measures of access to basic human rights will be employed to examine the community justice system inside the shelter.

Food security

Under the existing structure of food support, the Thai Burma Border Consortium (TBBC) has a duty to provide food and non-food items in temporary shelters along the Thailand-Myanmar border through the community system of Temporary Shelter Committees who are in charge of reception, storage and distribution of the items inside the camp. Since displaced persons are not permitted to leave the shelters to find work outside the camp, the majority of them are entirely dependent on food rations for their basic physical survival.

However, levels of food rations and the availability of food provided to displaced persons have been decreased due to large cuts in TBBC’s budget. For example, the removal of yellow beans from the food basket has decreased the average kilocalorie level to slightly below the World Health Organization/UNHCR caloric planning figure of 2,100 kcal per person per day. Recently, new arrivals to the camps have faced particular difficulty in accessing food assistance, especially due to a recent Thai government policy prohibiting this group from receiving food rations.

Right to education

Since 1996, international non-governmental organizations have supported community-based organizations to deliver educational services in the temporary shelters, which mainly focus on formal education. In Karen temporary shelters, the Karen Refugee Committee-Education Entity was set up in 2009 to replace the Karen Education Department under the Karen National Union in order to clearly represent the work as that of the refugees. The Karen Refugee Committee-
Education Entity plays the role of education supervisor in Karen temporary shelters, especially on basic and further education, rather than providing vocational training and adult education. However, Karen Refugee Committee-Education Entity plans to restructure and standardize the non-formal education programs in the temporary shelters through a planning process in educational service provision with ZOA Refugee Care and World Education, which are the international NGOs that take care of funding for education inside the camp.

There is a wide array of education services and programs available in the shelters, including basic education, post-secondary education, vocational training, adult/non-formal education, and special education. However, there is no access to higher education or distance learning. The study found a strong need for increasing the availability of the following educational programs: English classes; Thai language classes, especially for non-formal education programs to adult refugees; and vocational training in skills demanded by the job market as well as agricultural skills. Teacher turnover in all shelters is high and retention of qualified teachers in the shelters is incredibly problematic. There is a shortage of funds to support school infrastructure, supplies, and equipment. In the seven predominantly Karen temporary shelters, education is generally accessible for the Karen majority ethnic group, but there may be ethnic, cultural, religious, and language barriers to access for minority groups, such as Muslims.

**Health security**

The Committee for Coordination of Services to Displaced Persons in Thailand is responsible for healthcare policymaking and coordinating with the Thai Government on this issue. It set up a subcommittee on health systems to work with refugees on health services, including training, information campaigns, educational programs, and rehabilitation programs inside the camps. These subcommittees also train displaced persons to be medics, midwives, nurses, and other healthcare providers in order to sustain the healthcare system since NGO health staff are not allowed to stay overnight in the shelter. In practice, the healthcare services in the shelters function similar to a local Thai clinic with an In-Patient Department, but they cannot handle secondary and tertiary medical cases which have to be referred to local government hospitals for the safety of patients.
In terms of health security, the present health system in the temporary shelters is often referred to as a “parallel” health system funded by international donors, which UNHCR and the Committee for Coordination of Services to Displaced Persons in Thailand see as being unsustainable in the long term. According to universal healthcare principles, healthcare services must be provided to everyone regardless of their registration status in the shelters. As it is difficult to estimate the number of new arrivals each year, there is the potential for a shortage of resources and funding. This constraint directly affects health security, especially the quality of health provision for displaced persons inside the shelter. Moreover, new arrivals who lack official documents do not have adequate access to referral services in Thai hospitals. Some ethnic minority groups also have a more limited access to healthcare. The resettlement of highly trained health staff has severely affected the capacity of the temporary shelters’ health services to provide quality healthcare for displaced persons, resulting in a higher risk of public health crises in the temporary shelters. Lack of knowledge about disease prevention and treatment, in addition to hygiene, are the most significant challenges for healthcare provision. According to universal healthcare principles, healthcare services must be provided to everyone regardless of their registration status in the shelters. As it is difficult to estimate the number of new arrivals each year, there is the potential for a shortage of resources and funding. This constraint directly affects health security, especially the quality of health provision for displaced persons.

Security and legal protection

The Royal Thai Government considers displaced persons from Myanmar to have prima facie legal status, or, in other words, not full refugee status, and intends to repatriate them back to Myanmar or resettle them in a third country after the conflict in Myanmar ends. In theory, the RTG is in charge of administering and providing security both inside and outside the shelters, with support from UNHCR and international NGOs to ensure that displaced persons’ rights are respected and that they are well-informed about Thai laws and policies. In practice, three main bodies are responsible for security inside the shelters, namely: the Community Elders Advisory Board; the Karen/Karenni Refugee Committee; and the Temporary Camp Committee.
While the Community Elders Advisory Board provides guidance, assists in resolving conflicts, and plays the role of judicial persons and advisors, the Karen/Karenni Refugee Committee is similar to an executive branch which acts as the governing body of all shelters, and the temporary camp committee is essentially the local administration inside each camp. Under the temporary camp committee on security protection, there are security members who play a key role for security protection inside the shelter and who coordinate with Thai authorities outside the shelter, while the Justice Committee elected from the displaced person population is responsible for intervening in, reconciling, and arbitrating over conflicts occurring inside the camp. The traditional community-based justice system is considered as the community’s legal system inside the camp. This system involves a range of dispute resolution processes that take place within the camps including punishment for petty crimes while serious crimes, such as murder, are referred to the Thai court.

In terms of the personal and community security of displaced persons inside the shelter, several forms of threats still exist in the camp including physical torture, ethnic tension, crime, street violence, rape, and domestic violence. With regards to punishment methods and penalties, the need to improve detention facilities in the shelter is critical as the current facilities are essentially holding cells rather than facilities appropriate for long-term detention. Penalties for sexual and gender based violence incidents are not in-line with either national law or international human rights standards. Examples include: “settling” rape cases through financial compensation or marriage; and denying requests for divorce and instead proposing alternative solutions which often do not protect victims from repeat violence. Therefore, women are particularly vulnerable to incidents of sexual and gender based violence, specifically if they are disabled, divorced, separated, or unmarried. Although NGOs have proposed the idea of access to the Thai justice system facilitated by the Legal Assistance Center, it is still difficult for displaced persons to access the Thai national judicial system due to language barriers, lack of transportation, fear of reprisal, concern about police reaction, and ignorance of the system. With regards to cases of sexual and gender based violence, some procedural and regulatory limitations, such as the three-month statutory limitation on reporting sexual crimes, are seen as barriers to accessing...
the Thai judicial system. Officials in the traditional community-based justice system also prefer to deal with cases in the shelter first before referring cases to the Thai justice system, as they wish to resolve conflicts and problems which occurred inside the shelters. The Thai authorities also hesitate to handle a higher caseload or have limited knowledge about the displaced persons.

Integration with local welfare services and possible social tension

The following sections examine the possibility of collaboration and further local integration of social welfare and social security with local authorities and services in Thailand. Key indicators under the human security framework will be used to analyze information on income generation to replace food rations, and access to local Thai schools and hospitals. On the issue of the justice service, access to the Thai justice system will be explored, and the possible social tension that might occur during the local welfare services integration process is also considered.

Food and income generation

Since refugees are not allowed to leave the shelters to earn a living to buy food, they are entirely dependent on food assistance from NGOs. The current trend of reduced funding for food assistance poses a significant threat to the food security of displaced persons. As food rations become less available and less accessible, it becomes more difficult to meet the nutritional needs of displaced persons. If the availability of food assistance continues to decrease, and no major policy and programmatic adjustments are made to increase livelihood opportunities, both the food security and human security of displaced persons will be under serious threat.

To solve the problem of the reduction in the availability of food, an alternative means of obtaining food is through increasing the livelihood opportunities of displaced persons. Although there are some livelihood programs available in the shelters, only a limited number of displaced persons can participate. To maintain an adequate level of food security, the livelihood programs and opportunities should be increased on a larger scale in order to supplement the food rations. One solution is to grant to refugees the right to work outside the
camp so that they buy food with income. Another solution is to allow displaced persons to grow food in the shelter for household consumption. The example of the Community Agriculture and Nutrition program,\textsuperscript{16} an agricultural training program by NGOs, can be seen as a new approach to community agriculture with the aim of increasing income. Such programs should involve the participation of local Thai villagers in order to reduce social tension between Thai villagers and displaced persons from the camps.

\textit{Education}

The Thai government does not currently allow displaced persons to leave the temporary shelters, which limits the educational, training, and livelihood opportunities of displaced persons. However, the Thai government is "gradually accepting that the refugee situation is likely to continue for the foreseeable future and the Ministry of Education (MOE), in particular, appears open to improving the educational opportunities of displaced persons as part of its commitment to achieving Education for All (EFA) goals."\textsuperscript{17} One example is the transitioning process to train and build the capacity of community-based organizations inside the camp to take over local education and to increase the cooperation of the Thai local government on education.

At the moment, local Thai school officials do not distinguish between non Thai students who live inside or outside the temporary shelters. They allow access to education for all students under the MOE policy of Education for All. But without a Thai ID, students from the temporary shelters are sometimes unable to continue studying in Thai schools at the secondary level. They also do not receive any official Thai education certificates for their studies. The local school community generally views students from the temporary shelters as members of ethnic minority groups rather than displaced persons from the temporary shelters. Fellow local students and teachers of the same ethnic background as the students from the shelters can sometimes facilitate the students' social, cultural, and linguistic adaptation. Allowing displaced persons to access Thai schools (including formal, non-formal, vocational, and higher education), therefore, will significantly broaden the educational opportunities of displaced persons as well as fulfill the right to education, thereby strengthening the overall human security of displaced persons.
Healthcare

Since the healthcare systems in the temporary shelters provide only primary healthcare services, patients who need secondary and tertiary treatment from specialists are referred to district and provincial hospitals which are located near to the temporary shelter, are appropriately equipped, have specialist doctors available, and are willing to treat referral cases. All medical bills for referral cases from the temporary shelters are reimbursed by NGOs, so these cases do not pose a financial burden for hospitals. However, hospitals located near border areas face financial challenges from the treatment of patients living along the border who have crossed into Thailand to seek better medical treatment. Therefore, the five-year strategic plan of UNHCR and the Committee for Coordination of Services to Displaced Persons in Thailand envisions working toward a border-wide health strategy and strengthening coordination between NGOs and the Thai Ministry of Public Health in an effort to increase access of displaced persons to Thai health care services.

At the moment, the Committee for Coordination of Services to Displaced Persons in Thailand and the Ministry of Public Health are working together on healthcare and sanitation services for displaced persons. These stakeholders collaborate on referral cases to Thai hospitals, medic training, and standardization of the medic training curriculum, disease outbreak prevention, immunization programs, periodic vectors in the shelter, and family planning programs. The aim of the Ministry of Public Health collaboration is twofold: to help displaced persons access adequate health services; and to prevent disease outbreaks from affecting not only the population inside the temporary shelter but also nearby communities. Local and provincial hospitals have also assisted with initiating health and birth records for displaced persons since 2006 in order to collect information on all patient physical health conditions, such as disease and sanitation, while birth records serve the purpose of collecting demographic information on birth rates. These birth records can function as documents similar to birth certificates in the future.

Although the collaboration between Thai authorities and international NGOs is well-established in the area of healthcare and sanitation, such collaboration is still carried out at a local and informal
level. In order to ensure sustainable healthcare provision for displaced persons, exchange trainings between health staff in the shelters and in local communities should be promoted. Displaced persons also have some concerns related to access to Thai healthcare services, should they one day be able to access Thai clinics or hospitals on their own without a referral from the shelter clinic. Based on these concerns, mechanisms and policies need to be in place to guarantee that displaced persons are not arrested should they have the ability to access Thai hospitals or clinics on their own in the future. The ability to work and generate income would also increase the ability of displaced persons to pay for medical treatment and associated costs in order to achieve the sustainable health security of refugees.

**Security and legal protection**

At the moment, the largest overall challenge to legal protection for displaced persons is their legal status since they cannot directly access the Thai justice system themselves. Another limitation relates to the challenges of the traditional community-based justice system. These challenges include: lack of institutional capacity; lack of capacity of temporary shelter justice officials; prosecution and punishment; and administration of justice in cases of sexual and gender based violence, especially for children, women and youth. Further challenges lie within the displaced community since they have limited knowledge about access to justice and legal protection and lack motivation to learn more about these issues. Many of them still prefer to use the community-based justice system, including for serious crimes such as sexual and gender based violence or murder, even though the appropriate punishment for murder (ten years or more in prison or the death penalty) cannot be delivered by the community-based justice system. Access to justice is also affected by power relations and conflict-of-interest issues especially in the form of camp politics, ethnic/religions divisions, and family relations in a closed community.

Another challenge is from local community members living in surrounding areas as they may have misperceptions about displaced persons and blame displaced persons for problems in their community. Tensions between displaced persons and local communities have occasionally occurred because of activities that might affect the resources of local communities. For example, local communi-
ties are particularly concerned about deforestation, substance abuse, communicable diseases, and crimes and social disorder related to the presence of a temporary shelter in their community. On some occasions, a numbers of local community members have felt resentment over the international humanitarian assistance and attention given to displaced persons rather than the local communities. Language and cultural barriers further lead to misunderstandings and misperceptions, thereby creating the notion of displaced persons as “the other” in relation to Thai people. Therefore, it is necessary for stakeholders to increase opportunities for interaction and to strengthen the relationship between local Thai communities and displaced persons, such as through the expansion of resources and services for both groups and the promotion of cultural exchange. Stakeholders should consider implementing public awareness campaigns or other activities that will allow displaced persons and local community members to have dialogue and work together to combat crimes and address other common concerns.

Discussion and conclusion

The study found that the current provision of social services is not sustainable in the medium to long term. Maintenance of the current situation, without the exploration of any alternative policy or programmatic options, will place the human security of displaced persons under serious threat. As the majority of displaced persons are entirely dependent on food rations, the current trend of reduced funding for food assistance poses a significant risk to the food security of displaced persons. The food security of new arrivals is particularly at risk due to a recent Thai government policy prohibiting this group from receiving food rations. A continued reduction in the availability and accessibility of food rations also poses challenges to meeting the nutritional needs of displaced persons. Major policy and programmatic adjustments aimed at increasing livelihood opportunities for displaced persons are needed to ensure both the food security and human security of displaced persons.

The educational opportunities of displaced persons are presently limited to programs and services offered in the shelters. Without freedom of movement to leave the shelters, displaced persons will have no opportunity of access to higher education, which is available only
outside the shelters. Displaced persons cannot officially have access to Thai schools and cannot gain certificates of educational achievement in order to help them to find jobs or pursue higher education. If the current situation is maintained, the ongoing resettlement of skilled educational staff and the high teacher turnover will continue to negatively affect the availability of experienced teachers as well as the quality and continuity of education services. Allowing access to Thai schools will therefore significantly broaden the educational opportunities of displaced persons and contribute to fulfilling the right to education and the overall human security of displaced persons.

On health security, maintaining the current situation will lead to negative impacts on displaced persons, NGOs, and local health organizations. While NGOs will face a funding decrease from donors, local hospitals will need to take on increasing expenses from referral cases. The health security and human security of displaced persons will suffer the most unless alternative solutions are pursued.

With regards to security and legal protection, there are several challenges which pose a serious threat to the personal security, community security, and political security of displaced persons. The largest overall challenge to legal protection for displaced persons is their legal status that bars their access to the Thai justice system.

To solve all problems, the study argues that the Five-Year Strategic Plan of the Committee for Coordination of Services to Displaced Persons in Thailand, that emphasizes the development of significant new frameworks and policies for displaced persons, will be a better solution to explore. Opening up both dialogue and opportunities for alternative solutions to the current situation will help strengthen the human security of displaced persons. Under the human security framework, finding sustainable solutions to the current protracted situation may need to go beyond the host country’s traditional responsibility. However, placing full responsibility on the host country to provide social services not only creates an increased burden for the host country, but may also lead to forced repatriation of displaced persons. Therefore, responsibility for the sustainable social welfare and protection of displaced persons should be equally shared among international agencies, the host country, and civil society.

In conclusion, the study proposes the following recommendations in order to ensure the human security of displaced persons as follows: 1.
moving from humanitarian assistance to development; 2. formalized, strategic, and systematic collaboration between the Thai government and relevant service providers; 3. in light of continual donor funding decreases, development of the roles and capacity of both community-based organizations and the Thai government to provide food/shelter, education, healthcare, and legal protection services for displaced persons; 4. establishment of a pilot project, initially in one temporary shelter, allowing displaced persons to work outside the shelter and access local services; and 5. flexible policy frameworks which balance national security and human security to meet the needs of displaced persons and allow displaced person access to local social services.

Notes

1 This paper uses the term “Burmese refugees” for displaced persons living in temporary shelters along the Thai-Myanmar border although the Royal Thai Government (RTG) considers them to have prima facie legal status, or in other words, not full refugee status. The RTG refers to them as displaced persons/people fleeing conflict who will be repatriated back to Myanmar or will be resettled in a third country after the conflict in Myanmar ends.


3 So far there have been no cabinet resolutions to endorse these people’s temporary stay in Thailand as is required by Article 17 of the Act, only a Resolution of the National Security Council with executive discretion. See more details in Pornpimol Trichot, A Journey of Ethnic Minority (Bangkok: Institute of Asian Studies, Chulalongkorn University, 2005).


5 In 2012, the UNHCR/MOI registered population was 87,452. This figure does not acknowledge new entries since 2005 and those waiting for consideration by the Provincial Admission Board, numbering 136,919 persons. The TBBC figure also includes 584 displaced people from Shan State living in Wieng Heng district of Chiang Mai, while numbers of Internal Displaced Persons living in the Myanmar side are 17,076 persons. See more details in 2012-aug-map-tbbc-unhcr.pdf in http://www.tbbc.org/camps/populations.htm.


7 Pia Vogler, “In the absence of the humanitarian gaze.”

8 Staffan Bodermar et al., Strategic Assessment and Evaluation of Assistance to Thai-
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9 The Committee for Coordination of Services to Displaced Persons in Thailand (CCSDPT), *Annual Health Information Short Report Thailand-Burma Border Refugee Camps,* (Bangkok: Committee for Coordination of Services to Displaced Persons in Thailand, 2006).


12 Some of the main NGOs working in the area of health are Aide Medicale Internationale, American Refugee Committee International, Handicap International, International Rescue Committee, and Malteser International and Planned Parenthood Association of Thailand. See more details in Committee for Coordination of Services to Displaced Persons in Thailand five year Plan 2010.


14 Although UNHCR has three main “durable solutions” for refugees—voluntary repatriation to the country of origin, local integration into the country of asylum, and resettlement to a third country—the RTG still prefers the two durable solutions of repatriation and resettlement, rather than local integration in Thailand.

15 Key informant interview, Karen Refugee Committee-Education Entity, 2010.

16 The Community Agriculture and Nutrition (CAN) is proposed and operated by COERR. See more detail in Committee for Coordination of Services to Displaced Persons in Thailand plan.